

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIV. No. 25.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 18, 1813.

[Price 1s.]

769]

[770

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NEW GOVERNMENT IN HOLLAND.—

It is so long since the old Government in Holland was put down, that many readers of the present day were not then born; and, it, therefore, may not be amiss to point out the change which appears to have taken place upon the counter-revolution. — Holland, under the old Government, was a *Republic*: it was called the Republic of the United Provinces. Each of these Provinces sent so many Deputies to an Assembly, called the *States General*, who exercised all the great powers of government. *War and Peace*, all *Treaties*, were made in their name; and they were called "*Their High Mightinesses*." — The Prince of Orange was only the President, or State-Holder; and, though the post had, of late years, become hereditary in his family, it had not always been so. — The change, therefore, which has taken place, is of great consequence; for he is now to be "*Sovereign Prince of the United Netherlands*;" of course, the Republic is not restored; the sovereignty is to be exercised by him, in the same manner, I suppose, that other sovereigns exercise their power. — Thus, then, is Holland no longer a Republic, and the Dutch are no longer republicans. — In the House of Commons a sort of conversation on this subject has taken place, and, indeed, this is the only thing that has taken place there this session to relieve the scene from the dull uniformity of unanimous applause of the Ministers. — On the 14th instant, "SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH rose and observed, that, in consequence of having observed in *The London Gazette* of last Saturday, a new designation given to His Majesty's Ambassador at the Hague, and a new Sovereignty announced as subsisting in the territory which, in the ancient order of Europe, had been subject to the Republic of the United Provinces (a Government which after two centuries, generally of the closest amity with England, had at length been destroyed upon the sole and avowed ground of alliance with His Majesty) he had deemed it his duty to come to the

House yesterday, as soon as he had seen official and authentic evidence of so great a revolution, to put a question respecting it to the Noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Circumstances known to that Noble Lord had induced him to postpone the question till to-day. — He was aware that he was precluded by the usage of Parliament from introducing it by any preliminary observations; and if he had not been so, he should have imposed the same restraint voluntarily upon himself. For he could assure the Noble Lord, that though he trusted he should always boldly perform his public duty whenever he thought that he clearly perceived it, yet he felt as strongly as the Noble Lord could the painful delicacy of the subject, and he should assuredly do nothing, either now or hereafter, to aggravate the difficulty which naturally belonged to it. — He then stated his question as follows: — "Was it known to His Majesty's Government, before the departure of his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange from England, that his Serene Highness intended to assume or to accept titles and authorities unknown to the legal Constitution of the United Provinces, and manifesting a determination not to re-establish the ancient and lawful Government of that Republic? — Were these measures adopted by his Serene Highness with the approbation of His Majesty's Government, and with the concurrence of his Allies? — LORD CASTLEREAGH said, that he was not privy, before the Prince of Orange's departure, to any determination on the part of His Royal Highness with respect to the Government that was to be established, nor did he believe that His Royal Highness had come to any such determination, as what was called the Provisional Government, already exercised the Administration, from which he had received the invitation. — That the form of Government which had been adopted, was the result of the spontaneous and unanimous wish of the people of Holland of all parties, as much of those who were formerly the enemies

“ of the House of Orange, and who were
 “ now among its most zealous partisans, as
 “ of those who had always been attached
 “ to it.—That what appeared in the
 “ *Gazette* was a notice of the appointment
 “ of our Ambassador to the Government of
 “ Holland. That in making this appoint-
 “ ment the King's Government had an
 “ anxious desire to abstain from any inter-
 “ ference with the domestic concerns of that
 “ country.—That the credentials to Lord
 “ Clancarty had been purposely delayed,
 “ until His Majesty's Government *knew*
 “ *what form of Government was established*
 “ *in Holland*; and it was not until it was
 “ communicated to our Ambassador, under
 “ what title the Prince of Orange was to
 “ exercise the Government, that the cre-
 “ dentials were sent to him in the form it
 “ has appeared.”—It is asserted here, by
 Lord Castlereagh, that the change of the go-
 vernment in Holland has been the result of
the spontaneous and unanimous wish of the
people of Holland of all parties. But,
 how, in *what way*, could this wish be
 known? What were the means adopted
 for collecting the will of the people? Had
 there been any meetings of the Citizens of
 the country? Nay, were all the territo-
 ries of Holland out of the hands of the
 French, at the time when this change was
 announced? Have there, even to this day,
 been any meetings of the people of Holland?
 If there have not, and if no trace can be
 discovered of any act like that of collecting
 their suffrages, how is it to be known, that
 the change was the result of their *unani-*
mous wish?—Oh! what is our state,
 when we answer such an assertion in a
 manner like this!—But, why torment
 oneself? What are the Dutch and the fate
 of the Dutch to me? What is it to me,
 whether they have a King or a Stadtholder?
 It is their affair and not mine.—The
 Duke of Clarence, at a recent festival in
 honour of the Dutch counter-revolution,
 is reported to have said a great deal about
 the *unshaken friendship* of the Dutch to
 this country. Did they show it towards
 the close of the American war? It was
 either the *House of Orange* or the *People*,
 who were for joining France and America
 in that war; and His Royal Highness
 praised them *both* as *our firm friends*.—
 At any rate the House of Orange appears
 now to be freed from all interference of the
States General; and, we may venture to
 predict, that, in the Constitution, which,
 as we are told, *is to be formed*, care will
 be taken not to embarrass him too much

with the weight of popular assemblies.—
 Let us bear in mind, however, that this is
 not a *restoration* of the government of Hol-
 land; but an entire *new government*, and
 an abolition of the ancient Republic of the
 United Provinces.

THE BOURBONS.—It is strange, that
 no document of any authority speaks yet of
 the Bourbons! This family, for whose in-
 terests the Allies of the First Coalition pro-
 fessed to make war, is now passed over in
 the most profound silence, although they
 live now in England, and have been under
 the immediate protection of every one of
 the allied powers alternately.—This si-
 lence would lead us to suppose one of two
 things: that the scheme is to *dismember*
France; or, that the Emperor of Austria
means not to destroy his Son-in-law and
brother Emperor.—If the former, we
 shall see, in all probability, a long and
 bloody contest; if the latter, it appears to
 me perfectly natural to expect, that Austria
 and France will not be long before they
 come to an understanding.—The boons,
 which Napoleon has it in his power to give
 to his venerable and august father-in-law,
 are immense. By an understanding be-
 tween them, the Emperor of France might
 still be a great sovereign, and his august
 parent might be a greater potentate than he
 ever was before. In short, this appears to
 be the moment for the House of Austria to
 make such acquisitions of power as to en-
 able her to set Russia and Prussia for ever
 at defiance. And, whatever the vulgar
 crowd may think of the matter, Austria
 will consult her interests.—The mad
 scheme of dismembering France can hardly
 be entertained by any sovereign of the
 coalition; and yet, unless it be enter-
 tained, how are we to account for the
 silence as to the Bourbons, except we
 attribute it to the *influence of Austria*?—
 To be sure, there may be preparations
 necessary for crossing the Rhine; but,
 still, the delay seems to be longer than
 ought to have been expected; nor should I
 be at all astonished to find, that, after all,
 the Rhine will not be crossed by the Aus-
 trians.—If the Emperor of Austria should
 resolve to *put down* Napoleon, or to attempt
 it, there will, as I said before, be little
 difficulty in obtaining a *divorce* of his
 daughter from the latter; but, it is his
grandson who is to inherit the Empire of
 France, and this consideration may have
 great weight.—Now, suppose Austria,
 in consequence of immense concessions to

her on the side of Italy, securing to her at the same time, her Empire of Germany, were to say to the allies: "*I am satisfied, and so ought you?*" Suppose this were to happen? Must not the rest of the allies be *satisfied* also? I do not see how they would dare to refuse to grant, or agree to, any terms, dictated by Austria and France united. Prussia would be too weak to resist; Russia is too far from home to do much for any length of time; the Dutch will have quite enough to do to defend their own frontier; and, as to Sweden, she cannot move an inch without money from us; and, indeed, she is, of herself, nothing at all in such a war. — Austria is *poor*; she has been exhausted by her long wars; peace and glory too within her grasp would be, I am persuaded, too much for her to resist. — As to what our news-papers tell us about the *overtures of Napoleon being rejected by the allies*, they know nothing of the matter. We have *no facts* that we can rely upon, and our opinions must, to be rational, be founded on what reason tells us is natural. And, I think, it is very natural to expect, that the Emperor of Austria, provided he gains all he can wish, will not wish to destroy the empire of his grandson, especially as he may, with France on his side, safely set all his northern enemies at defiance. — If a peace were to take place between Austria and France, the whole face of things would change in a moment. Those two powers would become the dictators to the continent, and the Emperor Alexander would have to look to the safety of his Polish dominions. — A war might go on, but under what circumstances? We might, and I dare say we should, continue the war; but, would Prussia; would Holland? In such a case, it would not be very surprising to see changes as great as any that we have yet seen. — It is natural to suppose, that nothing can be so near the heart of the House of Austria as the re-assumption of all its power and its titles in Germany. And, that House, which is noted for its excellent memory, will not have forgotten, that it owes its expulsion from, and its degradation in Germany, in part, at least, to Prussia, which was then in close alliance with France. — Events have made this degraded House the arbitress of Europe; she has now the power to carve for herself by a separate peace; and, it remains to be seen, whether she will avail herself of the opportunity, or will stick to the cause of England, and Holland, and Prussia, though at the hazard of losing every thing by a continuation of the war. — It

will be seen, from the following article in the *Courier*, of the 13th instant, that the writers in the interest of the government are very anxious to caution the people against an expectation of peace: — "It is *strange* that some of our cotemporaries hold out, with great confidence hopes of *a speedy peace*. There does not appear *to be the least foundation for them*. Some affect to state that Buonaparté has offered to the Allies the *uti possidetis*, whilst others, pretending the most intimate knowledge of the secrets of the Cabinet, declare that the Allies have required the *status quo* during the consulate, as the basis of negotiation. There is no foundation for either of these statements. — The *uti possidetis*! in which Buonaparté would hardly include Holland, as belonging to the Dutch or to the Allies. — The *uti possidetis* for him would leave him still Master of Italy, of the Netherlands, of the Hanse Towns and Magdeburgh—in short, of the power of again disturbing every power, and deluging with blood every part of Europe. But the Allies are stated to have required the *status quo* during the Consulate—at what period of the Consulate?—The period when the peace of Amiens was concluded? Well, we who found that peace only a hollow and insecure truce, who felt that neither repose nor security were to be enjoyed under it, we are again to be willing to return to the *status quo* in which that peace placed us, give up all our conquests, Trinidad and Ceylon excepted: leave Holland really dependent, though nominally independent, of France; in fact, abandon, by re-accepting the peace of Amiens, all the advantages we have acquired during this war, and stamp upon that war the character of unjust, impolitic, and unnecessary! We should have been ashamed of wasting a moment upon this subject, had not some of our cotemporaries put forth the statement in such a way as to induce some persons to give credit to it. We repeat, that the real permanent safety and honour of Europe, are to be found only in the vigorous continuance of the war. *To make peace now would be a base surrender of the advantages which fortune has placed in our hands, would be treachery to the cause of justice and humanity.* We must follow up the blow. — We have scotch'd the snake—not killed it; She'll close and be herself, whilst our poor *malice* — Remains in danger of her former tooth.

"We do not believe that any peace with Buonaparté is likely to be secure, but certainly none that shall leave him an inch of territory beyond old France."—When, then, are we to expect peace? "It is *strange*," we are told, that we should expect it *now*! When Buonaparté was *victorious*, then we were by no means to think of peace, because we could then expect nothing but a peace of *humiliation and disgrace*. And now, when he is defeated, we are told, that to make peace with him "would be a base surrender of our advantages; *treachery* to the cause of *justice* and *humanity*!"—When, then; under *what circumstances*, are we to indulge our hopes of *peace*?—Austria may, perhaps, not see the matter in the same light. She may be content with *scotching* the snake, and may not wish to *kill* it, especially as it is so nearly related to her. *Her* object is pretty nearly gained. She has no cause, if she now makes a separate peace, either to *envy* or to *dread* France; and, she may have abundant reasons for not wishing to see England without a powerful neighbour and rival.—Austria must wish to regain all her power and dominions in Italy and Germany; but, she may not wish to see England the sole mistress of the Mediterranean and all its Islands.—If I, therefore, were minister of England, this is the time that I should choose for offering terms of peace, in conjunction with the allies if possible, and if not, without them. I do not know what might be done by Russia; but, we may be sure, that Austria will not carry on a war merely to gratify England. Indeed, every one of the allied powers will look to *its own interests*; and, if we fail to make a just estimate of those interests; if we are still ruled by our passions, rather than by our reason, we shall again be left to carry on the war "single-handed," as the Duke of Clarence calls it. When I hear, that the allies have proclaimed openly their intention of *restoring the Bourbons*, I shall then think, that Austria has resolved to attempt the total overthrow of Napoleon; but, until then, I shall suspect that that power is disposed to set a measure to its hostility; and that she will not pursue the war beyond what is necessary to her own aggrandizement.—She might leave Napoleon master of all the countries to the Rhine, and might receive from him ample indemnifications in Italy, better suited to her power, and of far greater intrinsic value.—Again, therefore, I say, *this is the time* for England to bestir herself in making peace.

TO MR. ALDERMAN WOOD,

On the subject of teaching the Children of the Poor to read.

LETTER II.

Sir,

In the *printing* of my last letter a gross error, or, rather, interpolation, was made, in page 748, where "the history of the *Bees' House*" is spoken of. I never heard of such a history, and am utterly at a loss to conceive how the blunder could have been committed.*

When I closed, rather abruptly, my last, I was about to notice the cause, as appeared to me, of the wonderful concurrence of all the sects to promote this work of reading. These sects, which agree in nothing else, all agree as to *this* matter. They all think, or say, that *good must come from reading*. Yet, they must, one would think, be aware, that, by learning to read, the poor will run the risk of reading books, which each sect looks upon as very mischievous. But, the truth is, that each sect pleases itself with the idea, that *all* those who read will become *its* proselytes. But, perhaps, a more powerful cause is the vanity of *literary men*, who are all for the reading scheme. Each of them supposes, that, whatever neglect the present race of readers may show of his writings, a new race will be charmed with them, and, indeed, will read nothing else. Dr. Rees and Mr. Belsham believe, I dare say, that all the boys, whom you and other liberal gentlemen are causing to be taught to read, will read *their Sermons*. Not at all! They will read Dibdin's songs, Moore's Almanack, and the news-papers; and the sermons of these worthy and zealous gentlemen will remain to be read in the confined circles, in which they are now an object of attention.

The news-papers will always have the preference; and these *must* do harm to your readers, because, in the present state of things, they will, of course, be the vehicles of darkness rather than of light. I have shown before, that there is not, in our press, any such thing as free discussion, when the subject is of a nature interesting to man as a member of society. There is no man in England, who will venture to deny the truth of this. There is no man who will attempt to controvert the proposition. There are, indeed, men, who, in

* This error originated in an indistinctness in the Manuscript. More than ordinary care was taken by the Printer to give the doubtful word (*bees*) as it seemed to be written.

their writings, affect to boast of the blessings of a *free press*; but, in this they only discover their baseness. They know, that what they say is false, and they say it, in many instances, merely to disguise their shame. They wish to be looked upon as free to utter their thoughts; and this wish leads them to belie both their opinions and their knowledge.

The law of libel and all its terrors out of the question, there is abundant reason why the press should be *partial* and *servile*. Nay, supposing that no corruption of the press is employed by the Government; still the press must naturally be almost wholly devoted to it. There is an *influence*, which very greatly surpasses in its effect all direct interference of the Government. I mean the influence of *taxation*. The Government has a *hundred millions a year to expend*. Such an expenditure must make the press its own without supposing one penny expended in purchasing the press. Men who live by writing are very rarely over-rich. They must eat as well as write. They must, therefore, write to please those who have the power to give them the means of eating. Those who receive the hundred millions a year; those amongst whom that all-influencing sum is distributed have that power; and, it follows, of course, that those who write will endeavour to please them.

These remarks will appear just to whomsoever will take the trouble to calculate the immense amount of the *advertisements* inserted for the different purposes of the Government, not only in the London but in the country news-papers. These alone form no mean part of the profits of every news-paper which has them to insert. Their insertion is, perhaps, necessary to the affairs of the Government. But, the selection of the news-papers must be with its officers, and they, of course, will give their valuable custom to those papers which please them the most. If you add to these the advertisements of Magistrates, Clerks of the Peace, Sheriffs, Commissioners of Taxes, &c. &c. you will, in this article alone, see quite sufficient cause for the partiality of this part of the press. It is a sort of influence such as a rich gentleman has amongst his tradesmen and his tenants. It arises out of the system of taxation, which makes the Government the *employer* of half the nation. "Liberty of the press," exclaimed a friend of mine, who is now dead; "a pretty thing, indeed, to talk of liberty of the press in a country where

"the Government has forty millions a year to expend!"—What would he have said now? And, what would he have said of the idea of teaching the poor to read the productions of this press, with the hope of aiding the cause of public liberty?

If your readers should reach so high as *Magazines* and *Reviews*, what will they find there? The productions, for the most part, of men actually in a state of the most mercenary and servile dependence; or the mere partisans of a faction. Works of this sort become daily less interesting. It is well known, that there is, in their authors, no hope of impartiality. The far greater part of the writers of them are in some place or employment, which, to say the least of its effects, must make them partial. In short, a Review is any thing, now-a-days, but what it professes to be.

But, some, at least, of your readers, will dip into *history*. Will they? And what will they find there? From the history, indeed, of *remote periods*, they may collect some truth; but, what is to be expected from a history of the last fifty years? A very pretty specimen of this sort of productions is to be found in the history of Lord Nelson's achievements, in 1799, in the *Bay of Naples*! CAPT. FOOTE, goaded on by a desire to avenge himself on those who had, as he says, ill-treated him, has given the world a true history of those acts; but, in how few instances has the like happened! In how few instances has *truth* been able to make the smallest stand against overwhelming falsehood! To a *lying eulogium* on any person in power who dares to reply in a manner demanded by *truth*! You know well that no man dares do it. You know well, that most terrible punishment would await any man, who should dare to show, that an eulogized person in power was worthy of contempt or hatred. And, this being the case, and writers being at all times to be found to eulogize the great, what benefit, I seriously ask you, can be expected from teaching the poor to read *history*?

Lastly, as to works upon religion. Who dares to express his thoughts without disguise, if his thoughts be in contradiction to what is deemed essential for the people to believe? There are men, who, so far from believing in the doctrines of Christianity, believe those doctrines to be pernicious in their effects. Take it for granted, that such men are in error; but, if they be not permitted to publish their thoughts; if *every one* be not at *full liberty* to say just

what he thinks upon the subject, what good is *reading* to do your pupils? If there be a certain set of dogmas, which no man is to speak against, what have your pupils to do but to learn those dogmas from the mouth of a priest of some sect or other? Why should they *read*, if others are not to *write*? In truth, they are not at *liberty to read*, unless any one who chooses may write what he chooses upon this subject. So that, you will find, at last, that you are teaching the poor to read and to believe what others choose they should read and believe, and nothing more.

The recent instance as to a theatrical piece, would, in any other state of things, lead men to reflect. The facts are thus related, in the form of a Letter to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, inserted in that paper of the 9th instant.—“Sir, influenced by what I conceive to be the general feeling of my countrymen, I went last night to Drury-lane Theatre in the expectation of seeing a Piece founded on the influx of grateful intelligence which has of late so eminently exhilarated, I hope, every individual of these truly happy realms. To my utter astonishment and disappointment, a printed paper was put into my hand at the door of the Theatre (the contents of which are, of course, notoriously public), intimating that an interdiction of the performance had been issued by Mr. Larpent, in the name of the Lord Chamberlain, five hours before the period of intended representation, on the sole plea that the licencer had not had sufficient time to peruse a piece of one act sent to his office the Saturday preceding.—When the glorious and disastrous intelligence of the Victory of Trafalgar reached this country, a one act piece was produced at Covent-Garden Theatre, under the title of ‘*Nelson’s Glory*,’ in three days after the news was announced. Surely the same licencer who did not then disapprove *one day’s notice* (which was all he had) ought not now object to *four days’* opportunity, scrutinizing an effort of similar length, the intent of which was equally directed to aid the common cause and common feelings of the country.—Many instances can be produced of licenses granted to theatrical pieces on less notice than that given in the present case, and where the urgency of immediate production could not be pleaded.—A proof also exists, that a farce, after being some time in rehearsal at Covent-Garden The-

atre, under the title of ‘*The Two Farmers*,’ was suppressed by Mr. Larpent, in his official capacity, because it attempted to draw a line between monopoly and honest dealing; and because, as Mr. Larpent personally informed the author, it was highly improper to give a dishonestly speculating farmer the name of *LOCUST*.—*The Liberty of the Press* most happily and properly interests every thinking individual of these realms; and, next to the Liberty of the Press (if not immediately connected with it), is the freedom of echoing on the British Stage the genuine, praise-worthy, and, allow me to say, the Providential feelings which have prevented this great, enviable, and commanding country from becoming a Province of France, and its inhabitants from degenerating into vassals of the would-be Emperor of the Universe.—Whatever your critical strictures on the suppressed piece might have been, you would at least have given credit to the propriety of its intention, and, had it been unworthy of repetition, had rather seen it fairly condemned by a jury of its Author’s countrymen, than denied a trial on so futile a plea as that which put a veto on—ORANGE BOVEN.”

Now, let us, if you please, not pester ourselves about the *one day’s notice* and the *four days’ notice*, and about who this Mr. Larpent is, or about what miserable trash he may now have put a stop to. Let us, Sir, leave all this aside, and pin our attention to this simple fact: to wit; that there actually is a person appointed by the government, and, I suppose, removable at its pleasure, *whose license must be obtained to every theatrical piece, before the actors dare to perform it*. Now, then, if your pupils should become readers of plays, here, at any rate, they will not read a word but what the government has previously granted them permission to read. Here there is no pretence of freedom of the press. Here the writing is first examined; and, if the agent of the government does not approve of it, it is suppressed. This is what Napoleon does with regard to all writings; and, really, I think it much better for the managers of play-houses to be subject to this sort of control, than to be left free to act and liable to punishment for acting. Here the law is plain; it is here a safe guide: no man can here incur ruin from his ignorance of how far he may go. Here is a person, appointed by the government, to prevent the poor writer from exposing

himself to a punishment heavier than that of a great part of the felons. He is not here told, that he has freedom to write: he is not here told, that he enjoys that precious liberty: he is told, that he is to cause to be read upon the stage just as much as the government agent pleases, and no more.

This "ORANGE BOVEN," as he calls himself, says, that "the *Liberty of the Press* most happily and properly interests every THINKING individual of these "realms," of whom, I suppose, he regards himself as one; and, indeed, his remarks do seem to discover no common reach of thought. But, with due submission to this profound gentleman, who, in all probability, ought to thank Mr. Larpent for keeping his balderdash from the public, I would ask, what is the *difference*, the *real* difference, between the state of the *Stage* and that of the *Press*? On the *Stage* you must utter nothing which an agent of the government has not previously examined and approved of; for, if you do, you subject yourself to punishment. Very well; and what can you do in the other case? Why, through the press you can utter nothing, which the Attorney General does not approve of, whether it be false or true, without exposing yourself to a state prosecution, which may bring on you a punishment more severe than that inflicted on a great part of the felons. You are held responsible for all that you publish, and it belongs, and solely belongs, to an officer, appointed by the government, and removable at its pleasure, to call upon you for that responsibility; to choose his time when to commence proceedings against you; to choose, afterwards, the time for bringing you to trial; to suspend his criminal charge over your head as long as he pleases; and, if he choose, and whenever he may choose, to drop his charge against you, and to relieve you and your half-dead family from your fears. "ORANGE BOVEN" may say what he pleases of Mr. Larpent; but, really, I think that that gentleman fills a very friendly and amiable office.

Here, Sir, I close this part of my subject; and I think, that, in whatever light the matter is viewed, it is impossible to deny, that the teaching of the children of the poor to read is more likely to do harm than good, if by good we mean the enlightening of their minds and making them friends to the rights and liberties of men in society.—I remain, with unfeigned respect, your most obedient and most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPANISH WAR.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
Monday, Oct. 18, 1813.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Oct. 18, 1813.

Captain the Earl of March arrived this morning with a dispatch from Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, of which the following is a copy.

Lezaca, Oct. 9, 1813.

My Lord,—Having deemed it expedient to cross the Bidassoa with the left of the army, I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship that that object was effected on the 7th instant.—Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham directed the 1st and 5th divisions, and the 1st Portuguese brigade, under Brigadier-General Wilson, to cross that river in three columns below and in one above the site of the bridge, under the command of Major-General Hay, the Hon. Colonel Greville, Major-General the Hon. Edward Stopford, and Major-General Howard; and Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre directed that part of the 4th Spanish army under his immediate command, to cross in three columns at fords, above those at which the allied British and Portuguese troops passed. The former were destined to carry the enemy's entrenchments about and above Andaye, while the latter should carry those on the Montagne-Verte, and on the height of Mandale, by which they were to turn the enemy's left.—The operations of both bodies of troops succeeded in every point. The British and Portuguese troops took seven pieces of cannon in the redoubts and batteries which they carried, and the Spanish troops one piece of cannon in those by them.—I had particular satisfaction in observing the steadiness and gallantry of all the troops. The 9th British regiment were very strongly opposed, charged with bayonets more than once, and have suffered; but I am happy to add, that in other parts of these corps our loss has not been severe.—The Spanish troops, under Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre behaved admirably, and turned and carried the enemy's entrenchments in the hill with great dexterity and gallantry; and I am much indebted to the Lieutenant-General, and to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, and to the General and Staff Officers of both corps, for the execution of the arrangements for this operation.—Lieute-

nant General Sir Thomas Graham, having thus established, within the French territory, the troops of the allied British and Portuguese army, which had been so frequently distinguished under his command, resigned the command to Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, who had arrived from Ireland the preceding day. While this was going on upon the left, Major-General C. Baron Alten attacked, with the light division, the enemy's entrenchments in the Puerto de Vera, supported by the Spanish division under Brigadier-General Longa; and the Marescal del Campo Don Pedro Giron attacked the enemy's entrenchments and posts on the mountain called Da Rhune, immediately on the right of the light division, with the army of reserve of Andalusia.—Colonel Colborne, of the 52d regiment, who commanded Major-General Skerrett's brigade, in the absence of the Major-General on account of his health, attacked the enemy's right in a camp which they had strongly entrenched; and the 52d regiment, under the command of Major Mein, charged in a most gallant style, and carried the entrenchment with the bayonet. The 1st and 3d cacadores, and the 2d battalion 95th regiment, as well as the 52d, distinguished themselves in this attack.—Major-General Kempt's brigade attacked by the Puerto, where the opposition was not so severe; and Major-General Charles Alten has reported his sense of the judgment displayed both by the Major-General and by Colonel Colborne, in these attacks; and I am particularly indebted to Major-General Charles Alten for the manner in which he executed this service; the light division took twenty-two officers and four hundred men prisoners, and three pieces of cannon.—These troops carried every thing before them in the most gallant style, till they arrived at the foot of the rock on which the hermitage stands; and they made repeated attempts to take even that post by storm; but it was impossible to get up, and the enemy remained during the night in possession of the hermitage; and on a rock on the same range of the mountain, with the right of the Spanish troops. Some time elapsed yesterday morning, before the fog cleared away sufficiently to enable me to reconnoitre the mountain, which I found to be least inaccessible by its right, and that the attack of it might be connected with advantage with the attack of the enemy's works in front of the camp of Sarra. I accordingly ordered the army of reserve to concentrate to their right; and, as soon as the concen-

tration commenced, Mariscal del Campo Don Pedro Giron ordered the Battalion de las Ordenes to attack the enemy's post on the rock on the right of the position occupied by his troops, which was instantly carried in the most gallant style. Those troops followed up their success, and carried an entrenchment on a hill which protected the right of the camp of Sarre, and the enemy immediately evacuated all their works to defend the approaches to the camp, which were taken possession of by detachments sent from the 7th division by Lieutenant-Gen. the Earl of Dalhousie, through the Puerto de Eschalar, for this purpose.

—Don F. Giron then established a battalion on the enemy's left, on the rock of the Hermitage. It was too late to proceed further last night, and the enemy withdrew from their post at the Hermitage, and from the camp of Sarre during the night.—It gives me singular satisfaction to report the good conduct of the officers and troops of the army of reserve of Andalusia, as well in the operations of the 7th inst. as in those of yesterday. The attack made by the battalion of Las Ordenes, under the command of Colonel Hore, yesterday, was made in as good order, and with as much spirit, as any that I have seen made by any troops; and I was much satisfied with the spirit and discipline of the whole of this corps.—I cannot applaud too highly the execution of the arrangements for these attacks by the Mariscal del Campo Don Pedro Giron, and the General and Staff Officers under his directions.—I omitted to report to your Lordship in my dispatch of the 4th inst. that upon my way to Roncevalles on the 1st inst. I directed Brigadier-General Campbell to endeavour to carry off the enemy's picquets in his front, which he attacked on that night, and completely succeeded, with the Portuguese troops under his command, in carrying the whole of one picquet, consisting of 70 men; a fortified post on the mountain of Arolla was likewise stormed, and the whole garrison put to the sword.—Since I addressed your Lordship last, I have received dispatches from Lieutenant-General Clinton, in Catalonia, to the 3d inst. The General was still at Tarragona, and the enemy were in their old position in the Lobregat.—Lieut.-General Lord W. Bentinck had embarked for Sicily on the 22d of September.—I send this dispatch by my Aid-de-Camp, Captain the Earl of March, whom I beg to recommend to your Lordship's protection.—I have, &c.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

I enclose a return of the loss incurred in the late operations; and a return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the army under Lieut.-General Lord Wm. Bentinck, in the affairs at Ordal, on the 12th and 13th ultimo.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the Army under the command of his Excellency Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K.G. in the Passage of the Bidassoa, and forcing the Enemy's Lines, on the 7th and 9th of Oct. 1813.

Royal Artillery. 1 rank and file wounded.—Coldstream Guards, 1st Batt. 2 rank and file killed; 8 rank and file wounded.—3d Guards, 1st Batt. 9 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file missing.—Royal Scots, 3d Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 4 serjeants, 15 rank and file, wounded.—4th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 staff, 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded.—6th Foot, 1st Batt. 1 captain, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, wounded.—9th Foot, 1st Batt. 8 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 7 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 2 serjeants, 62 rank and file, wounded.—38th Ft. 1st Batt. 1 rank and file killed; 1 serjt. 18 rank and file, wounded.—43d Foot, 1st Batt. 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 1 rank and file, killed; 2 serjeants, 14 rank and file, wounded.—47th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded.—52d Foot, 1st Batt. 1 serjeant, 11 rank and file, killed; 4 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 9 drummers, 60 rank and file, wounded.—59th Foot, 2d Batt. 1 drummer, 2 rank and file, wounded.—60th Foot, 5th Batt. 1 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file missing.—95th Foot, 1st Batt. 10 rank and file wounded.—95th Foot, 2d Batt. 2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 23 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 5 serjeants, 67 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—95th Foot, 3d Batt. 4 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 17 rank and file, wounded.—1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. 1 lieutenant, 6 rank and file, killed; 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 6 serjeants, 57 rank and file, wounded.—2d Light Batt. King's German Legion. 4 rank and file killed; 3 lieutenants, 7 serjeants, 29 rank and file, wounded.—1st Line Batt. King's German Legion. 8 rank and file wounded.—2d Line Batt. King's German Legion. 1 lieutenant, 8 rank and file, wounded.—5th Line Batt. King's German Legion. 1 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, wounded.—Brunswick Oelfs. 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 18 rank and file, wounded.

Total British Loss.—1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 5 serjeants, 1 drummer, 69 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 12 captains, 22 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 staff, 33 serjeants, 3 drummers, 419 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file, missing.

Total Portuguese Loss.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 ensigns, 2 serjeants, 41 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 7 ensigns, 15 serjeants, 1 drummer, 152 rank and file, wounded; 8 rank and file missing.

General Total.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 7 serjeants, 1 drummer, 110 rank and file, killed; 2 majors, 13 captains, 24 lieutenants, 11 ensigns, 1 staff, 48 serjeants, 4 drummers, 571 rank and file, wounded; 19 rank and file missing.

Accurate returns have not been received of

the Spanish loss, but it is estimated at 750 killed, wounded, and missing.

(Signed) E. M. PAKENHAM, Adj.-Gen.

Names of Officers killed and wounded on the 7th and 9th of October, 1813.

British killed.

95th Foot, 2d Batt. Lieutenants Hill and Campbell.—1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. Lieutenant Klanck.—6th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Shawe.

Portuguese killed.

1st Cacadores. Lieutenant-Colonel Algeo, and Captain Joachim Ant. De Cunha.—3d Cacadores. Lieut. Joao Pinto, Ensign Jose Pinto, and Joq. Navarro de Andrade.

British Officers wounded.

4th Foot, 1st Batt. Surgeon J. Gordon, severely.—9th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Jervoise, slightly; Lieut. Dale, severely; Lieuts. Sheppard and M'Adam, severely; Lieuts. C. Campbell and Lemesurier, slightly; Lieuts. Brooks and Stirling, and Ensigns Nash and Kenny, severely.—52d Foot, 1st Batt. Captains Main (Major) and Douglas, Lieutenant Hunter, Ensign Fraser, severely; Captains P. Campbell and Sheddon, slightly.—95th Foot, 2d Batt. Captain Hart, severely; Captain Gibbons, severely (since dead); Lieuts. Ridgeway and Fry, severely; Lieuts. Budgeon and Madden, slightly.—95th Foot, 3d Batt. Lieut. G. Vickers, severely.—1st Light Batt. King's German Legion. Captain Hulze-mann, slightly; Captain Rautenburg, and Lieut. Wahrendorf, severely; Lieuts. Lemers, Atkins, and Maiweden, and Ensign Gibson, slightly.—2d Line ditto. Lieut. A. Hesse, severely.—6th Foot, 1st Batt. Captain Rogers, slightly.—Brunswick Light Infantry. Major Fragstein, slightly; Captain Wolfradt, severely; Captain Wackholz, slightly; Lieuts. Theide and Greisheim, slightly; Lieuts. Schneider and Gruttemann (2d) severely.

Portuguese Officers wounded.

17th Line. Lieut. John A. Mathison.—1st Cacadores. Major Antonio Lobo Teix. Barros, slightly; Lieut. M. J. Antonio Sobral, slightly; Ensign M. Ten D'Almeida, slightly; Ensign Dom. M. Coelho, Ensign Joao Ant. de Millo, severely; Ensign Francisco Taveira, severely.—7th Cacadores. Joaq. Seciro, severely; Ensign Man. Martins, severely.—8th Cacadores. Captain Jose Valley, and Ensign P. J. P. Sirre, severely.

GOTTENBURGH MAIL.

BULLETIN.

Head-quarters, Zerbst, Sept. 26, 1813.

On the 21th, at break of day, two Saxon officers appeared at the Swedish advanced posts before Worlitz, and informed them, that their battalion would come over to our side. Col. Bjornstierra, accompanied by some hussars, went to the front of the battalion to give it a reception. Its Commander, the Major Von Bunau, declared, in the name of his whole troop, that it requested to fight under the standard of his Royal Highness, for the liberty of Germany. This battalion is the first of the King's regiment; its force amounts to eight

officers, and 360 men. It entered Worletzt with fixed bayonets and drums beating, and will bear the name of the first battalion of the King of Saxony's Legion. In three days at farthest it will be completed to 800 men. The Cossack Officer, Obrus, who was detached with 30 men on the 23d, near Goldwitz, took one Captain, two officers, and 40 Saxon dragoons prisoners, after a slight engagement.—Six Swedish gun-boats, under the command of Captain Kruger, have cannonaded the town of Stettin, the suburb of Damm, and the batteries which connect both those places, with good effect.—On the 24th Aug. three guns at Damm were dismounted, Lieut.-Col. Fermain, his Adjutant, a serjeant-major, and several soldiers were killed, and a great number were wounded, on the enemy's side. On the 30th Aug. the gate of Damm was broke down by cannon-shot, and on the 1st Sept. the fire was directed against the town itself. The boats had a few men killed and wounded in these affairs.—To draw off the attention of the garrison of Wittenberg from the side where the trenches were opened, and therefore to lessen our loss, General Bulow received orders to bombard the place from the opposite side. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th, he caused the suburbs to be attacked. The judicious dispositions made by General Herchfeldt, caused the attack to be attended with complete success. The suburbs were taken, and the enemy driven back on all points; we had only a few men wounded, not a single one killed. The attack does great honour to General Herchfeldt.—The trenches were opened on the side of Luthersbrunn, in the night between the 24th and 25th. The bombardment commenced on the same night, and several places were set on fire. The fire continued from ten o'clock in the evening till five o'clock in the morning. The fire was perceptible from the steeples of Leipzick and Dresden. At the same time a second parallel was opened on the side of the castle. Count Woronzow's cavalry keeps Halle, Querfurth, Eisleben, Bernburg, and Halberstadt garrisoned. A detachment has been at Quedlinburg. A part of this cavalry has formed a junction with the great Bohemian army, and is marching into the rear of General Lefevre, who was skirmishing with Gen. Thielmann. Every thing is in the greatest confusion at Leipzick. This city can no longer raise the contributions of money, provisions, and horses, which are demanded of it from all

sides.—The people are reduced to such a degree of misery, that the Authorities who carry the command, have every thing to fear. The French soldiers are tired and weary of a war without an object, which they call the Coffee and Sugar War.—General Czernitzcheff is gone with 3,000 horse on a private expedition.—Major Hellwig, of General Bulow's corps, has on the left bank of the Elbe opened a communication with the van-guard of General Schulzenheim, at Dessau.—The Field Marshal Count Stedingk causes considerable works to be thrown up, above Rostau, and between the Elbe and Mulde. General Winzingerode is forming the town of Acken into a fortress. The military Government between the Oder and the Vistula has placed the whole of the Landsturm on the right bank of the Oder, under the orders of the General commanding the sieges of Stettin and Kustrin. This Landsturm will form a mass of about 55,000 men, in a line of about seven German miles.—The Landsturm on the left bank of the Oder will in the same extent produce an equal number of men. This force is certainly not necessary in conjunction with the troops of the line, to hasten the surrender of those places. Consequently, in a line of fourteen German miles, there is already organized a mass of one hundred thousand Burghers, who are all ready to fight for the protection of their homes.—When Magdeburgh shall be enclosed, the Landsturm of that force will be called out; at every step that the Allied Army moves forward, it will find masses to assist it.—The letters received from Dresden, state, that the Prince of Neufchatel is very much displeased, and that he has made the most urgent remonstrances to prevail on the Emperor Napoleon to make peace. Had his counsels been followed, humanity would have had less to bemoan.

BULLETIN.

Head-quarters, Zerbst, Sept. 30, 1813.

On the 27th Sept. the enemy commenced making his retreat from Grossenhayn, to cross the Elbe at Meissen, and it is asserted that he is even preparing to evacuate Dresden.—Deserters assure us, that the military magazines of that city are already burnt, and that the inhabitants find themselves exposed to the most dreadful misery.—General Count Tauenzien, without the least delay, detached his light cavalry in pursuit of the enemy; strong detachments are intended for the left bank of the Elbe. That General's infantry has happily joined

Blucher's corps d'armée. The head-quarters of the latter were removed to Elsterwerde on the 28th. General Benningsen has been at Zittau since the 25th. By the united activity of the three corps, it is hoped the enemy will soon be forced back into the country between the Elbe and the Saale.—Whittenburgh continues to be strongly bombarded. In the night between the 27th and 28th, the town was on fire in several places, a tower of the castle was on fire and fell in. Exclusive of the bombs, rockets were likewise used under the very able direction of the English Capt. Bogue.—The garrison answered our attacks with their artillery, but entirely without effect; they may, perhaps, attempt a sally, but General Bulow is before that fortress with 30,000 men, and if it should be necessary can be strengthened with upwards of 40,000 more.—The distress in Magdeburg has reached its utmost height. Upwards of an hundred families, who were totally without sustenance, have left the city. A great part of the garrison, which is composed of all nations, is sickly. The animosity of the Saxons and Westphalians against the French military has broke out into violent disturbances; they have fired on each other with small arms, and the French have even been obliged in their defence to turn the cannon on the mutineers. The Emperor Napoleon has given his Generals orders to take Dessau, let it cost what it will. Information of this was received in sufficient time to give Major Gen. Schulzenheim timely notice to evacuate the place, and retire by degrees upon the works at the *tele-de-pont*. This was performed on the 27th, between 12 at noon and 2 p.m. The enemy did not undertake any thing against General Von Schulzenheim. Col. Bjornsterna, who was at Worlitz, received orders to fall back on the right bank of the Elbe. The day before yesterday the party covering the workmen at the *tele-de-pont* reconnoitred nearly as far as Dessau. Those posts of the enemy who had ventured out of the city were drove into the streets, and the reconnoitring party returned behind the entrenchments. In this skirmish we had 20 men killed and wounded.—We soon after received information that the enemy at Dessau had received reinforcements, and was advancing against the *tele-de-pont*. Field-Marshal Count Stedingk sent Colonel Bjornsterna against him with 1,000 infantry, some cavalry, and two pieces of artillery. The enemy hastily retired into the town, and shut the gates. A few young

officers and soldiers, led away by too much bravery, threw themselves, in despite of the enemy's shower of bullets from the houses and walls, on a gate, and endeavoured to cut it open with axes, but nails and iron bands rendered this impossible. Col. Bjornsterna ordered his troops to fall back to the *tele-de-pont*. When he had reached the distance of 100 yards, the enemy opened the gate, and fired on him with three pieces of artillery. The Colonel halted, returned the fire with his artillery, and marched on the enemy, who returned back into the town, and fastened the gates after them.—Our loss consists in two officers killed, and some wounded, and 3 or 4 privates killed, and about 40 wounded. Col. Bjornsterna had 3 horses killed or wounded under him.—In the evening, the enemy again left the town, and took his direction towards the bridge, across the Mulde, which was intrusted to a battalion under the command of Colonel Aldercreutz. This brave officer crossed the bridge, attacked the enemy, and drove him briskly back into the town, the gates of which were then closed.—At nine o'clock yesterday morning the enemy shewed himself with a corps of about 7 or 8,000 men in the vicinity of Oranienbaum, between the Mulde and the Elbe. As we had drawn our posts in, the enemy shewed symptoms of marching against the entrenchments, and forcing them. Lieut.-General Baron Sandels put himself at the head of three battalions, went out of our lines, and straight upon the enemy; he overthrew him, and drove him briskly upwards of a quarter of a German mile back. As this General had received orders to return back to the *tele-de-pont*, he executed them with such precision as could not have been excelled on the place of exercise. The fire of musketry against the tirailleurs continued for some hours, and the enemy undertook nothing further. According to the report of the country people, the enemy has lost upwards of 600 men. We had one officer killed, 10 wounded, and about 300 privates killed and wounded.—Field Marshal Count Von Stedingk would have passed the night in the *tele-de-pont*, and it required all the persuasion of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince to prevail on him to abstain from that resolution.—Lieut.-Col. Mauvetz, who had been detached as a partisan to support the operations of Gen. Tettenborn, has forced himself into Brunswick, surprised the troops there, and made one Colonel, and 400 officers and soldiers prisoners.—The Rus-

sian Captain, Barotzi, was attacked at Halle, by troops superior in numbers to his own, but that brave officer manœuvred so well, that he drove back the enemy, and made some prisoners.—A detachment that was sent against Merseburg found that town already evacuated by the enemy.—General Count Woronzow having learnt that the enemy had turned himself towards Cothen, caused the Captains Prescott and Lowenstern to march against him with a detachment of Cossacs. They threw themselves on three squadrons of Polish Uhlans, overthrew them, and took the commanding officer and 40 men prisoners.—The Emperor Napoleon's communication with France is cut off to that degree, that his messengers are obliged to be escorted by whole divisions.—It was hitherto only the light troops that carried on this kind of warfare, but latterly the inhabitants of several districts have begun to follow the example of the Spaniards and Russians, in making common cause with the military of the Allies.—The desertion from the enemy's army is very great: thirty or forty men daily come over to us.—We have intercepted several dispatches from Count Von Dernoth, the Danish Minister at the Court of Saxony, to M. Von Rosenkrantz. As these were intended to give the Danish Court the needful information concerning the state of affairs at Dresden, care will be taken that they shall arrive at their destination.

FRENCH DOCUMENTS.

(Continued from page 768.)

express reservation, with regard to such of its stipulations as may be affected by it.—2. That he will not in any wise refuse to make a convention relative to the offers and the acceptance of the Austrian mediation.—3. That, finally, the undersigned is charged and provided with the necessary full powers to regulate the terms of these two acts, and to sign them.—The undersigned seizes this opportunity of renewing to the Duke de Bassano the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

Gitschen, 22d June, 1813.

No. X.—The undersigned Minister of State and for Foreign Affairs, has conveyed to the knowledge of the Emperor and King, the note which his Excellency Duke de Bassano, Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, did him the honour of addressing to him

from Dresden, on the 15th of this month, and his Imperial Majesty has directed him to reply to it by the following explanation:

—The Emperor caused notification to be made in the month of February last to the principal Belligerent Powers, of his offer of interference for the re-establishment of peace, convinced, that without a just political equilibrium, the repose so necessary to Europe could not be completely ensured; and not less convinced that this equilibrium is directly connected with a maritime peace, his Imperial Majesty's wishes necessarily pointed to such a peace. He had the satisfaction of finding his interference accepted by the Powers to which he had offered it, England alone declined it.—The progress of events induced Austria to extend her interference to an actual mediation. The Emperor addressed his offers of it to the principal belligerent Powers. Nevertheless his Imperial Majesty always deemed it necessary to await the epocha when his mediation would be formally accepted, to make a new attempt with the British Government. This step has taken place at this moment.—Immense forces have, however, approached each other; the armistice is nearly terminated, and armies, in presence of each other, too directly oppose the prolongation of a simple armistice, for the Emperor to admit the possibility of the immediate assembling of a Congress, to which would be called all the Powers of Europe, including therein Plenipotentiaries from the Regency at Cadiz, and of the United States of America. How is it, in fact, to be supposed, that the indispensable preparations, the discussion of the forms to be given the Congress, the arrival of the Plenipotentiaries, and the preliminary negotiations on the basis of the pacification would not draw out into a length, which would render necessary a very different dislocation of the armistice? And how could the possibility be admitted, that either of the belligerent parties would yield up, without any guarantee, advantages of which it might believe it had an assured pledge, in the actual position of its forces?—In this state of affairs, the Emperor applied himself to reconcile the proceedings in favour of a general pacification with the actual conjunctures. His Imperial Majesty proposed, that there should be negotiated, under his mediation, a peace between the principal Powers of the continent, which might of itself serve as the basis to a general pacification.—This first peace would place the Powers in an attitude which would

permit them to await the assembling of a General Congress. It would directly lead to a maritime peace, in such manner, that this would be the completion of the continental peace. In fine, there is no doubt but that this negotiation might be easily terminated before the expiration of the armistice, and as the castle of Gitschen in Bohemia offers itself as being at once the nearest and most central place between the two great head-quarters, his Imperial Majesty does not hesitate in proposing to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, to send a negociator on his part to the said castle of Gitschen. The undersigned has orders to add, that the same proposals have just been addressed to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and to his Majesty the King of Prussia. It will, without doubt, be sufficient to have announced the intent of his invitation, to prevent his Majesty the Emperor of the French from entertaining the least doubt of its in anywise entering into the views of the Emperor of Austria, to confound his mediation freely accepted by the Powers, with formalities which would lead to the exclusion of negociators charged to defend directly the interests of the high contracting parties. His Imperial Majesty has always shewn himself a too zealous defender of the rights of Sovereigns and of the principle of the independence of Powers, to believe it to be necessary for him to give assurances, that he respects both the one and the other, even to their minutest concerns.—The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity of renewing to his Excellency M. the Duke of Bassano the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

Gitschen, June 22, 1813.

No. XI.—*Note from the Duke de Bassano to M. the Count de Metternich.*

The undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has imparted to the knowledge of his Majesty the Emperor and King the first note, which was yesterday transmitted to him by his Excellency the Count de Metternich, bearing date the 22d of this month. His Majesty the Emperor and King has perceived with satisfaction that his Majesty the Emperor of Austria persists in the same sentiments and disposition which dictated the stipulations of the Treaty of Alliance, of 14th March, 1812.—But his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, desiring an express reservation with regard to such of the conditions of the said Treaty which he deems not to be applicable to existing circum-

stances; and having furnished M. the Count de Metternich with the necessary powers for negotiating a Convention to that effect with the French Government, his Imperial and Royal Majesty has directed the undersigned to declare, that he is in like manner furnished with full powers to negotiate, conclude, and sign the said Convention.—The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The DUKE of BASSANO.

Dresden, June 27, 1813.

No. XII.—*Note from the Duke of Bassano, to the Count de Metternich.*

The undersigned, &c. having received instructions and powers, to negotiate, conclude, and sign the reservations which his Majesty the Emperor of Austria deems necessary to make to the Treaty of Alliance of 14th March, 1812, and wishing, agreeably to the intentions of his Majesty the Emperor and King, to accelerate this negotiation as much as possible, instantly enters on the subject, and begs his Excellency Count de Metternich immediately to transmit him the *projet* of reservations desired by his Court.—The Treaty of Alliance is composed of nine Articles.—By Art. 1, the two high contracting parties engaged to pay the greatest attention to maintaining the good intelligence so happily established between them, their states, and respective subjects.—His Majesty the Emperor of Austria now undoubtedly remains in the same disposition. Nevertheless, the position of the Austrian army in Bohemia, which keeps its cordon before the French army, and which, contrary to established usage, interdicts the passage to the French officers and agents, although furnished with regular passports, constitutes a change in the relations, contrary to the tenor of that Article. If this stipulation is to subsist, it will be requisite on both parts, to take without delay the necessary measures for preventing every thing that might change the good intelligence, and come to an understanding on the subject of the posting troops on the respective frontiers.—By Art. 2, the two contracting parties guarantee to each other the integrity of their present territories. His Majesty persists in this guarantee, as far as concerns him. The undersigned has the honour to beg of Count de Metternich whether Austria equally persists in it, or if the 2d Article of the Treaty is to be placed among the reservations.—The 3d Article stipulates the obligation taken by the two contracting parties, of mutually succouring

each other, in case that, notwithstanding the good offices employed by one or the other, either of them should be attacked or threatened.—Articles 4 and 5 determine the quality of the succours, and the time when they must be furnished. His Majesty, constant to his principles, considers these stipulations as useful, and in the spirit of the alliance. The undersigned will, at any time, have the honour of explaining himself on the modifications which Austria may wish, as soon as they shall be made known to him.—The 6th and 7th Articles relate to the reciprocal guarantee of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and the principles of neutral navigation.—The undersigned equally desires to know the reservations of which Austria considers these two articles are susceptible. With regard to the secret articles, the reservations of which they may be the object, will be a corollary of those which the open Articles must be liable to, and on which it is necessary preliminarily to know the views which his Excellency Count de Metternich may have to present.—The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The Duke of BASSANO.

No. XIII.—*Note from the Duke of Bassano, to Count de Metternich.*

The undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has laid before his Majesty the Emperor and King, the 2d Note, which was yesterday transmitted to him by his Excellency Count de Metternich, dated the 22d instant.—His Majesty the Emperor and King experienced real satisfaction from the explanations contained in that Note, in regretting the time which had elapsed since signing the armistice, and which might have been so usefully employed in the work of peace; he is convinced, according to the declaration which has been made known to him of the sentiments with which his Majesty the Emperor Francis is animated for the rights of Sovereigns, that these delays cannot be imputed to Austria.—His Imperial and Royal Majesty was equally satisfied in learning that his Excellency Count de Metternich was clothed with the requisite powers for negotiating a Convention, relative to the acceptance of the mediation of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and he has, in consequence, ordered the undersigned to declare that he is in like manner provided with full powers to negotiate, conclude, and sign the said Convention.—The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The Duke of BASSANO.

Dresden, June 27, 1813.

No. XIV.—*Note from Count de Metternich to the Duke of Bassano.*

The undersigned Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, has received the two notes which his Excellency the Duke of Bassano did him the honour of addressing to him this morning.—The attitude of Mediator undoubtedly can only be conceived in the most complete independence. If the political independence of Austria cannot be affected by the spirit of the alliance of the 14th March, 1812, an alliance purely defensive, and founded directly on the preservation of the peace of the continent, and on the desire of the re-establishment of a maritime peace, is not, however, the same with the letter of that treaty.—The undersigned being able to refer to his note of the 22d June, in reply to that of the Duke of Bassano of the same date, proposes to his Excellency to dispense with, at a moment so important to humanity, all discussions on particular articles of the treaty of the 14th March, 1812, and to place the reservation relative to the said treaty in a declaration common both to Austria and France, similar to that of which the undersigned has herewith the honour to annex a *projet*.—The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to his Excellency the Duke of Bassano, the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) METTERNICH.

Dresden, June 28, 1813.

The title of Mediator importing the most entire liberty, and not admitting any obligation which might be found in opposition with the interest of one or other of the parties interested, their Imperial and Royal Majesties, the Emperor of the French, &c. and the Emperor of Austria, &c. equally animated with a desire to concur, by all the means in their power, to the most speedy re-establishment of peace, viz. his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, by the offer he has made of his mediation to the Belligerent Powers, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, by his acceptance of the mediation of Austria,—their said Imperial Majesties, on the other hand, not wishing, by the act of mediation, in the least manner to prejudice the existence of the alliance established between them by the treaty of the 14th March, 1812, have mutually agreed to declare, that such stipulations of the said treaty as might affect the impartiality of the Mediator shall be suspended during the whole course of the

negotiations, expressly reserving, to cause the said stipulations to be revived, except the modifications, which, by mutual agreement, they may judge necessary to apply to them, after the pacification which at the actual moment forms the first object of their Imperial Majesties care.

No. XV.—Note from Count de Metternich to the Duke of Bassano.

The undersigned Minister of State and for Foreign Affairs to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, has received the note his Excellency the Duke of Bassano did him the honour of addressing to him yesterday. —The dispositions of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, as they are found expressed in that note in favour of opening, in the most speedy manner possible, negotiations, and the desire of the Austrian Cabinet to second the work of peace by every means in its power, has determined the undersigned to address to his Excellency the Duke of Bassano, for establishing both the offer of Austrian mediation, and the acceptance of that mediation by France, the annexed official paper purely and simply stating his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty's offer of mediation. —The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity of renewing to his Excellency the Duke of Bassano the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) Count de METTERNICH.
Dresden, June 29, 1813.

[Here follows another note from the same, and of the same date, announcing that the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia had accepted the mediation of Austria, and requesting the Duke of Bassano to inform him of the French Emperor's determination.]

No. XVI.—Note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to Count de Metternich's Note of the 28th June, on the Subject of the Alliance.

The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs has laid before his Majesty the Emperor and King, Count de Metternich's note of yesterday. —The proposal contained in that note tends to place in reservation, not only some articles of the treaty of alliance of the 14th March, 1812, but the whole of the treaty itself, which appears in opposition to the declarations made up to this day by the Court of Vienna, and even to the dispositions expressed by Count de Metternich in his preceding note of the

22d of this month. —It is not in the power of any one to cause to exist, what does not exist; thus it could not be said the treaty of alliance existed, if all its stipulations were placed in the reservations.

—His Majesty thought that these reservations, which were to be the object of the convention to be concluded, merely referred to some articles which were deemed by the Court of Vienna inapplicable to present circumstances; but as they must embrace, as the note of the Count de Metternich authorizes to believe, the very letter of the whole treaty, his Majesty can only consider the wish of the Court of Vienna as equivalent to a renunciation of the alliance.

—The treaty of the 14th March, 1812, had been concluded in the opinion of its being favourable to all parties. His Majesty, who does not wish to render his alliance expensive to his friends, makes no difficulty in renouncing that which united him to Austria, if such be the wish of his Majesty the Emperor Francis. This change in the alteration between France and Austria will not make any alteration in the friendship and good understanding resulting from the last treaties which established peace between the two powers. —The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The Duke de BASSANO.

Dresden, June 29, 1813.

No. XVII.—Note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to that of M. de Metternich, of the 20th June, on the Subject of the Mediation, with a Projet of a Convention.

The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs has laid before his Majesty the Emperor and King, the note of his Excellency the Count de Metternich, of this day's date, relative to the offer which the Court of Vienna made of its mediation. —His Imperial and Royal Majesty has charged him, in reply to the said note, to present the annexed projet for articles, as a simple sketch which may serve in the negotiation for which the Count de Metternich and the undersigned are respectively furnished with full powers. —Count de Metternich will perceive by the tendency of the projected dispositions, his Majesty's desire to replace on its basis Europe, shaken by 30 years of war, and to substitute for separate powers a general peace, negotiated, not in the cabinet, but before all Europe, and in the face of all her nations. —It was in this manner they acted at Munster, at Nimeguen, at Ryswick, and at Utrecht; the

powers were not arrested by the complication of interests, and the delays inseparable from a general negotiation; and even at Osnabruck, where they had besides to conciliate religious ideas, which are always so delicate, and from their nature so very little susceptible of modification, all difficulties were surmounted by time and perseverance.—Why, then, when they are certainly of less consideration, should we now despair of attaining complete success?—His Majesty prefers Vienna or Prague for the place of Congress, as being large cities, where all the negotiators might be assembled.—He refers to the Mediator for adopting such measures of policy as may enable the Plenipotentiaries to enjoy the privileges and honours which belong to their character, and to the dignity of the Sovereigns whom they represent.—The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The Duke of BASSANO.

Dresden, June 29, 1813.

Annexed to No. XVII.—*Sketch of a Convention for the offer and acceptance of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria.*

Dresden, June 29, 1813.

Art. 1. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria offers his mediation for a general peace.—2. His said Majesty, in offering his mediation, does not intend to present himself as an arbitrator, but as a mediator, animated by the most perfect disinterestedness, and the most complete impartiality, aiming solely at conciliating the differences, and of facilitating, as far as shall depend on him, a general pacification.—3. This mediation shall extend to England, to the United States, to the King of Spain, to the Regency of Cadiz, and to all the powers of the two belligerent masses.—His Majesty the Emperor of Austria will propose to them the city of Vienna, or that of Prague, for place of Congress.—4. His Majesty the Emperor of France accepts for himself and his allies, the mediation of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, such as it is proposed to him by the foregoing articles. He likewise accepts for the place of Congress either of the cities of Vienna or Prague, whichever may best suit the convenience of the other belligerent powers.—5. The French, Russian, and Prussian Plenipotentiaries shall assemble in the said city, within the first five days of July, under the me-

diation of Austria, for the purpose of commencing negotiations, and either by preliminaries, or by a convention, or by a particular treaty of peace, put a stop to the effusion of blood, which afflicts the continent.—6. If on the 20th July one of the two belligerent powers should denounce the armistice, conformably to the convention of the 4th June, the negotiations of the congress shall not thereby suffer any interruption.—7. The present convention, &c.

No. XVIII. *Projet of Articles for Application of the Mediation of Austria to a General Peace, agreed to with M. de Metternich, and taken by him.*

Dresden, June 30, 1813.

Their Majesties, &c. having come to an understanding by the convention of the 30th June, relative to the negotiations to be entered into under the mediation of Austria, for a continental peace, and judging it proper likewise to agree on what regards the negotiations for a general peace, have nominated, &c. &c.—Art. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria makes the offer of his mediation to all the Belligerent Powers, for assembling a Congress of general pacification, which shall fix on a solid basis the interests of all the powers of Europe, which have been shaken for 25 years past.—Art....For this purpose a general Congress shall be convoked to meet either in the city of Prague, or Vienna, at the choice of the parties concerned.—Art....The United States of America shall be invited to send plenipotentiaries thither. For Spain there shall be admitted plenipotentiaries from the King of Spain, and from the Regency of Cadiz.—Art....Every Plenipotentiary of such Belligerent Power that has accepted the mediation of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria towards a general peace, who shall present himself at the place of negotiation, will be admitted.

No. XIX.—His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c. and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, &c. being animated with an equal desire to come to a re-establishment of peace, and his said Majesty the Emperor of Austria, having to this purpose offered his mediation towards a general peace, or in default of that, to—

(To be continued.)